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mittee of five, composed of Representatives Burton, Montague, Steenerson, Oldfield, and Senator Sterling.

Interest aroused in the meeting led to the passage of a unanimous vote: that a special meeting of the American Group of the Inter-Parliamentary Union be held Tuesday evening, May 24, in the Caucus Room of the House Office Building; that Representative Burton be asked to address the meeting on such phases of the international situation as he might think appropriate to such an occasion, and that all members of the Congress be urged to attend the meeting, a number of the Congressmen present signifying their desire to attend the conference in Stockholm. The Executive Committee of the Group was given power to name and select delegates to that conference, which will meet in Stockholm, Sweden, August 17-19, the Swedish Group having renewed the offer of hospitality given in 1914. The government and the parliament are deeply interested and to the extent of granting a subsidy for conference expenses.

The Council of the Union has decided that, under prevailing circumstances, the coming conference will be limited in the number of representatives of the groups. Each group will have its two delegates to the Council, and in addition five representatives where the group has fifty members and one additional representative for each ten members up to the one hundred member group, when the ratio changes again.

The Organization Commission, which will report, has published documents dealing with the subjects, copies of which have been sent to the groups.

The agenda of the conference is as follows: (1) Election of the President and constitution of the bureau of the conference. (2) Report of the Inter-Parliamentary Bureau on the activity of the Council since the Eighteenth Conference. (3) The Inter-Parliamentary Union and the League of Nations. (4) The Inter-Parliamentary Union and the International Labor Office. (5) Revision of the Statutes of the Union. Rules for the Election of Delegates of the Groups to the Inter-Parliamentary Conferences. Report of the Organization Commission. (6) Reduction of Armaments. (7) The International Economical and Financial Problem and the League of Nations. (8) Organization of the Procedures of Inquiry and Conciliation within the League of Nations. (9) Communication of the names of the delegates of the groups to the Inter-Parliamentary Council for the period between the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Conferences. (10) Election of three members of the Executive Committee. (11) Place of meeting of the Twentieth Conference.

There is here pabulum enough to engage the attention of the best brains among the world's best parliamentarians. There ought to be no doubt about the necessity for an Inter-Parliamentary Union.

A SCHOOL FOR HIGHER POLITICS

THEY USED to sneer at James A. Garfield as the "scholar in politics" when he was a congressman and later when he was President. But he could not help believing that knowledge of history, diplomacy, international law, and "cultural" phrases of education had a very vital relation to his duties as a lawmaker and as an executive. This belief was due partly to the "personal equation" of the man and in part because he had sat, as a pupil, at the feet of Mark Hopkins, most famous of all the presidents of Williams College, Massachusetts.

Recalling this aspect of the career of the elder Garfield, it is not surprising to find his eldest son, the president of Williams College, projecting into the field of contemporary national education the scheme of a summer school or institute of politics, to be held annually at Williams College. This year the general subject of lectures, conferences, and study will be "international relations." Among the lecturers are listed men of international as well as national prominence. They include jurists, diplomats, practical administrators of government, as well as academic specialists famed for their knowledge of international law. Not a few of them are men whose names have been written large in the history of the times since 1914.

We gladly call attention to this "Institute," to be held from July 28 to August 27, in the exquisitely beautiful Berkshire village of Williamstown, and for two reasons: First, because it is belated recognition of the possibilities of a "summer school" geared to do a special job of civic pedagogics; and, second, because it is recognition by one of the elder American colleges of its patriotic duty at a time of grave crisis in the political world. Influential officials of government, no less than citizens of the most progressive and literate nations, are strongly tempted at this hour to think and act in terms of economics. There is a tremendously powerful undertow tending to reduce international relations, as well as internal national policies, to the purely utilitarian basis. A disposition to ignore traditions, precedents, and tested customs of statecraft and higher politics infects intellectual circles that hitherto have been far from radical.

The more necessary, therefore, is any project which utilizes spare time, as a summer school does, so that master and pupil, expert and novice, tried administrator and embryonic diplomat or consul, public official and the sovereign citizen, can together consider problems of society and of the State in the light of political ideals and tested experiments in government.

While we are commenting on this subject may we venture to say that one of the crying needs of the national capital is an adequately endowed, staffed, and

planned "institute" of the same sort, preferably independent in its status, and, year in and year out, doing its part to train for national and international service the steadily increasing number of youth of the country who would welcome a chance to study in a worthy school of the kind. Washington's increasing status and power as a center of international politics, of diplomatic representation, and of residence and professional activity by internationally minded men of many varieties makes it important that her educational institutions should meet the new demands.

It is an interesting fact of history, not generally known, that Mr. Rockefeller once considered creating and endowing a school in Washington that would have done precisely what now needs doing in this sphere. He decided at the time to concentrate on Chicago University. There still is an opening for some newly created multimillionaire with his war profits to do for Washington what Mr. Rockefeller declined to do, and incidentally to add his name to that of donors of assured immortality—Smithson, Corcoran, Carnegie, Freer. Men of science, pure and applied, educators, agriculturists, traders, manufacturers, artists, social-welfare experts and ecclesiastics are all focusing their centers of administration and propaganda in Washington today on an unprecedented scale. It is time that the capital had co-ordination of its resources in the field of international law, jurisprudence, diplomacy, and economic internationalism, the same crowned by a teaching department, an "institute of politics."

OLD-FASHIONED Christian theologians and moralists had a notion, now looked upon with more or less contempt by "liberals," that prior to forgiveness there should be repentance followed by reparation, and that then, and then only, forgiveness could be shown. The old notion still survives among Moslems, we infer, for practically the only admission of guilt by any official responsible for the late war that we have seen has come from Ahmed Riza, senator of the Ottoman Empire and a former president of the Turkish House of Deputies. He says: "We were wrong to make war, and it is right that we be punished."

THE MAN with a surplus dollar or a disposition to give, surplus or no surplus, faces no lack of calls for his gift this year. China's millions of famine-stricken folk, Europe's children, the undermanned and undercapitalized home altruistic agencies, such as hospitals, nursing homes, and charity organizations—these extend hands to be filled; and they will be filled to a measurable degree; for, though there are stringencies

of income, as compared with the flush days of war inflation, and though the process of deflation is now proving far from comfortable to the people at large, still it is true that, relatively speaking, we are the richest people in the world and not wholly callous to appeals of human need.

POPE BENEDICT XV, head of the Roman Catholic Church, addressing the recent consistory of cardinals on world conditions, the gloomy prospects for peace among the peoples, and the peril to Christian civilization from contemporary anarchy, moral and political, struck the note of personal regeneration as the only source of hope. Laws, treaties, and all formal governmental compacts, for their validity and efficacy, depend, in the last analysis, on the virtue of the signers and the lawmakers and the masses whom they represent. In striking this old-fashioned note the Pope is only echoing the cry of some of the noblest of the secularists of Europe, men wholly at odds with institutional religion, but men also absolutely disillusioned as to the power of any other force than individual goodness to make hate give way to love.

THE PUBLICATION of Leonid Andreyev's "Satan's Diary" calls attention to the fact that this Russian author, who died in Finland in 1919, from injuries suffered by the explosion of a shell fired by the Bolsheviks, actually suffered heartbreak prior to his sudden taking off. He was anti-Czaristic and democratic, but not communistic in his convictions, and, like so many Russian "intellectuals," he believed, to quote his own words, that "revolution is just as unsatisfactory a solution of disputes as war is. If it be impossible to vanquish a hostile idea except by smashing the skull in which it is contained; if it be impossible to appease a hostile heart except by piercing it with a bullet, then by all means fight." This comment, let us add for the sake of the groundlings, was meant by Andreyev to be ironic.

TAKING as accurate the comments of New York City critics on the "filmed" version of Ibanez's novel, "The Four Horsemen," it is evident that in this latest triumph of the cinematographic art the cause of "pacifism" has a great ally. Commenting on the spectacle, the *New York World* says: "It does not amuse; it does not necessarily entertain, . . . but always it enlightens and burns deep into the minds of men and women the awful results of hatred among men. As the four horsemen gallop wildly on through the mists of the play, symbolizing conquest, famine, disease, and death, there comes a quietness akin to death itself." The "motion

picture" is being used today for all sorts of propaganda purposes, some good and some bad. Forces of evil and forces of righteousness see in visual education and "suggestion" infinite resources that they are proceeding to capitalize as best they may; and their fight for supremacy already creates new problems which local, State, and Federal governmental authorities are trying to solve. What can organizations and individuals consecrated to peace do under the circumstances to show that they are alive to the possibilities of anti-war propaganda through the "eye-gate"?

BISHOP CHARLES D. WILLIAMS, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the most far-visioned and courageous of its bishops, giving the Lyman Beecher Lectures at Yale University this year, registers his belief in the relatively quick alteration of the present social structure, if for no other reason, because it rests on the materialistic morass of "enlightened self-interest." Savage, almost, was his indictment of the "accepted disorder" and of "vested rights" that really are "invested wrongs." But what interests us especially is the fact that he arraigned a church that permits such expenditure for war by all the nations. The theological and "divinity" schools of the country need to have their students awakened by such lectures as Yale's academic world has just heard from Michigan's "progressive" episcopos.

PRESIDENT HARDING is to sit at Cabinet meetings in a chair given him by the editors of the country. It will be made from wood taken from *The Revenge*, the first man-of-war of our early navy. Wood from a better named craft might more wisely have been chosen.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE, in reply to criticism from Anglican and Nonconformist clergy for his ministry's policy toward Ireland, drew a parallel between the secession of the Confederacy in 1861 and the claim of the Irish Republic for withdrawal from the realm. Incidentally he described John Bright as the only prominent British political leader who favored the North and the nationalistic point of view championed by Lincoln. The Welsh "eel" should re-read his life of Richard Cobden.

NEITHER PRUSSIA nor Germany were officially represented at the funeral of the former Kaiserin. The representatives of the ancient royal, aristocratic, and feudal, not to mention military, régime went through the forms of sorrow in a sincere way; but the masses in control of the socialist republic did not rise

en masse to make the dirge of sorrow a hymn of counter-revolution, as the Junkers hoped would be the case. No! Whatever else may happen in the land of Luther, Goethe, Marx, and Ebert the saddler-president, monarchy is not coming back. The mass trend is toward the left, not the right; and it will move in precise ratio with the justice of the Allies' treatment of the troubled nation.

ALBERT, PRINCE OF MONACO, who uses the vast wealth he gains from the gambling monopoly at Monte Carlo to further knowledge of oceanography and allied sciences, has been in the United States during the past month, receiving high honors from scientific societies and much social attention. In one of many both readable and reliable interviews given to journalists, he is credited with saying that as many ships have been sunk by mines since the World War closed as were sunk during the war; and he further adds that the Allies, as well as Germany, placed mines with "indefinite life." These now go their uncharted and unpredictable ways up and down the Atlantic, traitorously dooming craft, cargoes, and passengers to injury or destruction. But the Prince, with his knowledge of the currents and drifts of the north Atlantic, is aiding mariners to reduce their peril somewhat; and by so doing he proves that science has its virtues as well as its vices, its salvage function as well as its savage potentialities.

POSTMASTER GENERAL HAYS' statement to the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, that "it is no part of the primary business of the Post-Office Department to act as censor of the press," is, in light of a contrary view during and since the war, under the reign of Mr. Burleson, an important governmental declaration.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE head of the largest business corporation of the United States told the United States Chamber of Commerce at its April meeting that "the future of American greatness in trade depends upon our ability to think and act internationally. He is speaking by the card. Congress must take a similar view, if our share in world reconstruction is to be both intelligent and ethical. President Harding is on record as saying: "We cannot sell where we do not buy," which is the truth.

THE SHREWD American protagonist of woman's suffrage and all that it implies has had no surer device for causing laughter and a satirical smile than to say to her audience: "We cannot possibly make the

world worse than it is. See what a mess you men have made of it." But it seems that Ibsen, during his long sojourn in Italy, anticipated the suggestive jest. "We have had enough experience with the world of men," said he, adding: "Look at the world. It is awful. My hope is in women. If they are placed in power, things cannot get worse." We suspect that men may be able to help in the new world of the new women, if only they wake up before it is too late.

PRIOR TO 1914 French public opinion had been surely and steadily growing sane enough to put Pasteur above Napoleon as the approximation of France at her best. The vote of the people today might be otherwise; we doubt it; but a minority hostile to recognition of a man who at bottom was an imperialist and an aristocrat has been vocal during the preparations for the recent celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of Napoleon's death. To be sure, it has been a minority reflecting the opinion and dissent of the masses, who, after all, in every country are the ground of hope for the ultimate triumph of democracy and genuine pacifism.

PRESSURE of population upon the confines of a State can be relieved in two ways: by migration or by further acquisition of territory, often gained by conquest. But there is a third way, slow but sure, and counter in its ethics to age-long conventions of religious cults, but a method, nevertheless, gaining in a modern, secularized world. That is the method of deliberate reduction of the number of births. Japan, it should be noted, has had its head of the Department of Medical Affairs visiting in Holland, Germany, England, and the United States, studying "birth-control" propaganda and legislation of these countries. He reports that his government is preparing to enter on this method of meeting one of its gravest economic problems, out of which arises so many complications, political and military.

"SCIENCE SERVICE," with headquarters in Washington, is an organization that is to be a clearing-house for news of the scientific world, covering special assignments for newspapers or periodicals in the field of science and supplying special newspapers or periodical articles on scientific subjects of any sort. Endowed by one of the ablest and most civically inclined of American newspaper syndicate owners; administered under the supervision of representatives of the National Research Council, the National Academy of Sciences, the American Association for the Advancement of

Science, and of the profession of journalism; and its literature prepared under the supervision of an expert scientist who has proved his rare ability to make scientific information popular, the new organization bids fair to be one of the most important of recently formed educational institutions of the country; for that is what in essence it is. In two fields especially has American journalism been defective as compared with some European countries: in its gathering and interpretation of political, diplomatic, and economic news having significant international values, and in its popular, yet accurate, dissemination of the discoveries of science. The war has forced some betterment in foreign news collection and distribution. Now the "Science Service" comes to fill the other gap.

WHEN the National Academy of Sciences at its recent meeting in Washington had Prince Albert I, of Monaco, the oceanographer; Albert Einstein, the physicist and philosopher, and Dr. P. Zeeman, of Holland, as its distinguished guests it symbolized in its attitude a greater breadth of view than most "learned bodies" have shown since the armistice. As the German, Einstein, said, in acknowledging the tribute paid him, "It is to be hoped that the field of activity of scientific men may be reunited, and that the whole world will soon be bound together in common toil and achievement."

THE PEACE SOCIETY, with headquarters at 47 New Broad Street, London, E. C. 2, is to the British Empire what the American Peace Society is to the United States. It was founded in 1816. Its officers had planned to hold their centenary June 14, 1916, but because of the war the celebration was deferred. That centenary is now to be held June 14 next. The Secretary, Rev. Herbert Dunnico, writes that arrangements are now in hand to hold a civic function in the city of London, Guild Hall, in the afternoon and a demonstration in the Central Hall, adjacent to the Houses of Parliament, in the evening. Among the speakers there are to be Lord Hugh Cecil, Lord Parmoor, president of the society; Right Hon. J. R. Clynes, M. P., and others, representative of all phases of public life. Immediately following the celebration of the centenary the National Peace Congress will be opened at Birmingham, Thursday, June 16, to be continued until Sunday, the 19th. Dr. Dunnico adds: "The American and British Peace Societies have always worked in close and friendly alliance, and my committee cordially invites you to attend and take part in these celebrations. Moreover, the present time is most opportune for strengthening the ties between Great Britain and America. I trust that we

may receive an affirmative answer as early as possible. Hospitality will be provided for delegates who intimate in good time their intention to attend the conferences."

The Executive Committee of the American Peace Society has appointed Rev. Jay T. Stocking, D. D., one of the members of its committee and pastor of the Christian Union Church, Upper Montclair, New Jersey, its delegate, both to the centenary and to the congress. Dr. Stocking plans to attend both conferences.

THE GERMAN PENALTIES DEFINED

By LLOYD GEORGE

Selections from a Speech of the British Premier, May 5, to the House of Commons, Following Agreement of Allies' Representatives on Terms of German Reparation

THIS morning at half-past 10 there came to an end one of the most important and momentous of the series of conferences which have recently been held between the allied powers, important not merely for the subject under discussion and for the decisions taken, but also for the consequences of those decisions.

Before I give the actual decisions arrived at, I should like just to give the House a summary of the position. We sat for about six days, and it is very difficult to summarize in the time at my disposal deliberations which occupied such a length of time. When we met this was the position: Germany was in default in the execution of the treaty on some of the most important provisions of that treaty—disarmament, trials of criminals, reparations, and four or five other clauses which have not attracted much attention, but which are of very considerable importance.

I will now give you in outline the main cases of undoubted default on the part of Germany. The first relates to the very important question of disarmament, which is not merely the basis of the treaty but the basis of the future settlement of Europe. (Cheers.) Unless that very formidable machine which has been responsible for the growth of the armaments of Europe and which in the end was responsible for the terrible war of 1914, unless we have a guarantee that those armaments have disappeared forever there is no guarantee for the freedom of the peace of Europe. Therefore we regard disarmament as the fundamental question.

I shall be perfectly fair to Germany, and I say at once that in some respects her compliance with that important part of the treaty has been highly satisfactory; in others very unsatisfactory. I am very glad to be able to say that the direction in which her compliance has been satisfactory is the very vital one of surrender and destruction of her great guns. It can be considered in the judgment of our military advisers—and I am quoting their very words—most satisfactory, although that compliance is not complete.

FURTHER DISARMAMENT IMPERATIVE

Now I will give respects in which compliance with the treaty is still unsatisfactory. There are far too many machine-guns and rifles unsurrendered—enough ma-

chine-guns to arm formidable forces. In addition to them—and this probably is the most disquieting factor—irregular military organizations are still in existence in Germany. In Bavaria alone there is a force of 300,000 men; there is a very considerable force in East Prussia, in Wurtemberg, and, I believe, in other parts of Germany. These forces added together no doubt would become the nucleus of a formidable army. They are armed with rifles, they have machine guns, and it is suspected that they have a number of cannons.

France and Belgium are naturally, for very good reasons, very anxious about these forces. (Cheers.) It is not that Germany could by any chance, whatever party came into power, suddenly organize a force which could attack either Belgium or France; but still, as long as you have great forces of that kind in Germany which might form a nucleus or a military organization, as long as you have still in Germany very large numbers of officers and non-commissioned officers of the old army, and you have the most ingenious industrial population in Europe that could in a short time improvise machinery for destruction, it is impossible for France to settle down.

She must continue to arm and to keep her eyes on her eastern frontier. She must watch. She is uneasy. She cannot let down her armies. And therefore it is essential that Germany should carry out this provision of the treaty. (Cheers.)

The reason assigned by Germany, and we give full weight to it, is that they have had two or three revolutions and counter-revolutions. There was a revolution in Bavaria, where Munich and the Bavarian Government were in the hands of the Communists for, I think, some weeks. There was a revolution in Berlin, or counter-revolution, where the capital and the whole machinery of the government were in the hands of counter-revolutionaries. Germany is able to say, "We cannot disarm and be perfectly helpless against these revolutionaries."

The fact of the matter is that the existence of these irregular forces makes it very difficult to carry out orders given by the central government for the surrender of rifles. Not merely the Communists, but a good many who half sympathize with them, say, "We are not going to give up our rifles and machine-guns as long as you have these irregular forces that at any time might be used for the suppression of our legitimate liberties."

There is this suspicion and counter-suspicion. We cannot get the rifles out of the Einwohnerwehr because they are afraid of the Communists, nor from the Communists because they are afraid of the Einwohnerwehr. Therefore we must insist upon both surrendering their rifles. There is a sufficient regular force in Germany, with its railway communications, to suppress any danger that may arise from any movement of the Communist Party.

CRIMINALS UNPUNISHED

The next subject on which Germany has defaulted is in regard to her war criminals. The position there is quite unsatisfactory and what makes it more so is that the allied governments made very substantial conces-